S 101 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayaxó-Kayapó were meant.

B 101 103 621 The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there. The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá" refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

Y 101 621 [197]

B 101 62 [619] [103]

B 101 128 197 619 It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí. We have several clear examples here of how a family community, or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
080 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

/179 cont./

*171 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his con-
301 temporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the
more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion,
[789] the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he
wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While
*171 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty
301 with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good
304 shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was
secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes
hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes,
but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at
first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a
wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result,
worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly
felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if
he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than
*171 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of
301 the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was
822 turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary
characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely
been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing
shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely
felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with
ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself
304 through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguish-
● 619 ing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not
only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons
within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often
formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to
tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting
[648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kid-
napping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women;
hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as
the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the
Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

*171 304 ●619 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all night long, then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the [648] Bakaïrí there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu- [186] *171 304 lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

[301] [239] The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments. Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïrí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical [648] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/187 cont./

*171 302 751 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more [A2] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 302 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining [619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/190 cont./

*171 304 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

## II. Sexualia.

*171 291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is [881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively [602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/229 cont./

#171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged. aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is difficult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe. the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed; the docile Bakaïrí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.

#171 411 239 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[239] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text continues on p. 352]

/362 cont./

761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
● [69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

● 619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man, they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B /395 cont./
619 In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let
[484] himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were
[179] not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakaïri of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

## II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

B
C
121 Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the
174 basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

A I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the
B Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, al-
C though I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty
174 here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement
B started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me
A for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of
174 whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

/12 cont./

114 648 175 [177] influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series 114 121 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 101 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had [115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

174 177 ●619 [113]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./
Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any European influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

/17 cont./
the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/20 cont./

177 231 [191] Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to ● 619 read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

114 161 Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The 622 leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at 554 the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as [648] comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair [411] of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military 701 force was important above all to insure contact between the 648 Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./
622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dońa Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
[871] lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
●619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484] rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

619
182
756 /23 cont./
aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

177
178
[114] When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
[241] arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
[412] was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241
114 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
361
166
619

[113]

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
731 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one